DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 233 600 FL 013 909

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TITLE English in Europe: The German Variety and Its Cultural Context.
PUB DATE Mar 83
NOTE 22p.; Revised version of paper presented at the Annual Conference of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (17th, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 16-17, 1983).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Dialects; *English (Second Language); Language Attitudes; Language Usage; *Language Variation; Second Language Instruction
IDENTIFIERS *West Germany

ABSTRACT

The manner in which English is being nativized in Europe is examined by focusing on German English. The recent historical development of the nativization of English in Germany and the attitudes that foster this practice are described. Among the topics addressed are: (1) the effects of the expansion of English use on the German language itself, (2) the process of nativization, (3) who uses English and for what purposes, (4) the teaching of English in West Germany, (5) communicative competence, and (6) attitudes toward German English. It is noted that there is a need for research into four issues: the suitability of a single model of language, whether a modern language program should be designed as an English as a foreign language or English as a second language program, the mutal intelligibility of non-native varieties of English, and the role of professional teaching organizations. (RW)

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English in Europe:

The German Variety and its Cultural Context

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Note: This is a revised version of a paper given at the Colloquium on Teaching World Englishes, Toronto, Ontario, March 16-17, 1983, as part of the Seventeenth Annual TESOL Convention. This version is for submission evaluation only.

The reality of non-native varieties of English in Africa, Southeast Asia and South Asia have been well-documented (see Kachru (ed.) 1982). These culturally and linguistically pluralistic regions have taken the language of their colonizers and have made it their own, adapting it both functionally and formally. The results of this nativization process are distinct sub-varieties of English known as Indian English, Nigerian English or Malaysian English.

Europe[1] too is a linguistically and culturally pluralistic region where English plays a significant role in the daily lives of German, Spanish, or Italian citizens. While there are similarities in the processes of nativization between a European variety of English and a Southeast Asian variety, for example, there are also differences. These differences can be explained by the distinction between institutionalized varieties of English and performance varieties (Kachru 1982). The former is marked by a wide range of functions including English as a medium of instruction (particularly at the secondary and higher level), as the language of the law and administration, as well as the language of commerce and trade; in these contexts English is often referred to as a second language.

A performance variety, on the other hand, is one with a highly restricted functional range in specific contexts, for example, of tourism, commerce, and other international transactions. Japan is a good example of a performance variety (Stanlaw 1982). Generally these contexts are identified as foreign language contexts and imply a cline of proficiency for its users which ranges from those who are fluent in both spoken and written discourse to those who know only a few vocabulary items.

This distinction between a performance and an institutionalized variety or between English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) is not always clear. In Europe, for example, it is possible to have learned English as a foreign language but have the competence and need to use it as if it were a second language (Wächtler 1974).

The term European variety can be misleading since Europe is composed of several independent countries, each with its own variety: Italian English, French English or German English. As in the individual countries of South and Southeast Asia and Africa already referred to, each of these sub-varieties of European English has evolved as a result of each country's cultural and linguistic background and its unique experience with English. Each of these sub-varieties has its own distinguishing features, not only in the obvious features of pronunciation differences that mark a Frenchman speaking English from a German speaking English, but also in lexical items, syntax, meanings, and uses.

A closer look at one of these sub-varieties of European English, that of German English, will serve in the following as illustration of how English is being nativized in Europe. In the first part recent historical development of this nativization and the attitudes that foster it are discussed. In the second section illustrations are given of the effects of the expansion of the use of English on the German language itself and the processes of this nativization. Part three looks more closely at who uses English and for what purposes. The teaching of English in Germany is the focus of part four. The final section deals with the issue of communicative competence and attitudes toward this emerging variety of English.

Part I: The Historical Perspective and Attitudes Toward English

Prior to the 2oth century English had relatively little impact on the German language or culture. In the 19th centry, there was some influx of English words into the fields of commerce (e.g., Banknote), fashion (e.g., Pullover, Plaid), foods (e.g., Roastbeef, Beefsteak), and sports (e.g., Rekord, Trainer), but this was from Britain and more strongly apparent in northern commercial centers of Germany. Prior to the 19th century, influence was limited to that of literary movements and the British system of government (e.g., Adresse, Bill).

In other domains during that period, French was the language of diplomacy and fashion; German was the language of science and scholarship. It is World War I that marks the beginning of the change from French and German in these areas to English, particularly British English. This change also meant a shift from French to English in Germany as the first foreign language in the education system.

The results of World WAr II supported the change that had been introduced some twenty years before, but with a new accent. With an Allied victory, American English was introduced into Europe in greater proximity and concentrations of native speakers in the uniforms of military personnel. This variety soon took the place of British English in the hearts of the Germans and began to spread among the general population.

Different reasons can be cited for the expansion in use of English, not least significant among them the role played by the media in the form of films, television, and radio. Simple exposure to the media however does not seem sufficient to account for the post-war love-affair of the Germans with things American, both material and linguistic.

The attitude of the Germans themselves after the war, in tandem with this increased contact with American English, played a substantial role in the spread of English. They adopted a supranational point of view and were consciously more open to the world at large. The outgrowth of this outlook was an increase in the use of English words and expressions. Purists in both Germany and Britain were distressed by these changes and in the words of one London observor: "The language also seems to have suffered defeat" (London Times 1960).

The fascination with America , its culture and its language, peaked in the 1960's. Such words as hit parade, know-how, do-it-yourself and baby-sitter were adopted, not only for the actual concepts or objects they referred to, but also as symbols of American values, attitudes, and its modernity. The range of this desire to identify with this modern society is illustrated by a German school child after the war between "good" English and "bad" English. "Good" English was the progressive, useful English heard on the radio in the afternoon after school; "bad" English is what one had to learn at school in the morning.

Increased concern among Germans about the spread of American influence (e.g. the positioning of NATO nuclear missiles) and culture in Germany (e.g., only an estimated 34% of the songs on German radio stations have German lyrics) indicates that the love-affair has cooled. Yet, the use of English continues and increases not for love, but due to the economic, scientific, and political position of the United States in the entire world. This dominance, more than affection for the culture or language, is responsible for the maintainence and extension of the position of the English language in Germany.

The media has a role in this phenomenon, too. Today, as in the fifties and sixties, it is recognized as decisive in the spread of new items and aids in the establishment of these in the speech of the general public in only a matter of days; this rate is in sharp contrast to the time of Schiller and Goethe when it often took years before a new word came into general use.

Along with the media, the network of cultural institutions known as the Amerikahäuser contribute to the spread of American English in Germany. The Amerikahaus serves as a meeting place and dissemination point for American literataure, popular publications and information about American social and political institutions.

If the attitude toward the culture has changed, the use of the language has not lost in terms of prestige value and even penetrates the highest levels of government. The Sunday Times (Moynahan 1983) recently reported that Germany's new chancellor, Helmut Kohl, has been "peppering" his speeches with "Germish", for example, by using der Housing-Boom for Aufschwung in Wohnungsbau. The German weekly newsmagazine Der Spiegel attributes Mr. Kohl's choice of English to his desire to appear as sophisticated and cosmopolitan as his predecessor Helmut Schmidt, who was fluent in English.

Der Spiegel itself is associated with the use of "Germish". In a sampling made of English material in this magazine, approximately 160 words borrowings were found reflecting the European image of America, particularly its cult of efficiency (e.g.,Know-how, Trend, Test), its business organization (e.g., Team, Broker, Promoter, Service), its informal style of life(e.g., Jeans, Jogger), its stress on social relations (e.g., Image, Stress, Backlash) and technology (e.g., Instant-On, HiFi, Bulldozer) (Kahane, Kahane, and Ash 1979).

Linguistic motivation has been sought for the borrowing of English words and it has even been suggested that the borrowing of monosyllabic words in particular is a response to a modern need or desire for short words or that the English words are phonologically less complex and therefore easier to pronounce than an existing equivalent in German. Such a case would be the choice of Jet over Düsenjäger, of Pilot over Flugzeugführer, or foul (as a sports term) over regelwidrig (Priebsch and Collinson, 1966; Moser 1974). Such suggestions are dubious however in light of the evidence supporting the prestige factor as dominant among the causes of nativization.

This use of English in Germany and the prestige associated with it have had subsequent impact on the German language, as has been the case in other regions where English is used. In the following, some examples of the processes English words and phrases undergo as they become part of the German language are presented.

Part II: The Processes of Nativization

Nativization means the process by which either formal or functional aspects of one language are adapted to suit the needs of users of another language (Kachru and Quirk 1981). While it is not generally accepted that nativization is taking place in Germany (Görlach and Schroeder forthcoming), the evidence presented here suggests the opposite and is parallel to the processes that English has undergone in institutionalized varieties.

Among borrowings alone there are an estimated 80,000 lexical items in German. In some cases, there is no adaptation of form, except for capitalization of nouns or the insertion of a hyphen , e.g., Swimming-Pool, Hit-Parade. Verbs are inflected as German roots are, with -en or -ieren as the infinitival marker (parken, checken, managen, frustrieren) and ge- and -t as the regular verb past participle marker (geparkt, gecheckt, gemanagt).

Abbreviation, also a form of lexicalization, occurs when some part of a word or phrase is omitted, as with Profi from professional, Pulli from pullover, Twen from twenty, and last, not least from last, but not least, as examples. Twen is especially interesting because it was originally created as the title of a magazine for those in their early twenties and came into current usage as a result of the magazine's popularity.

One last group of nativized forms are hybrids (Kachru 1966). These result from the combination of an English word with a German word: showbusiness becomes Showgeschäft, test car becomes Testwagen and playback recorder becomes Playback-Tonband. This process is also used to expand the semantic range of an item. Such is the case with Hollywood-Schaukel which is the name for a couchlike swing with its own awning designed for a patio or balcony.

While nativization, in this case Germanization, has been illustrated here, the German language has also undergone Englishization. Changes in the formation of the genitive, the -s plural, and in the structure of prepositional phrases have been attributed to contact with English and are especially visible in newspaper headlines (Carstensen 1979,1980; Gadler 1975; Waterman 1976).

An opening page from a fifth-grade English textbook for German public school children nicely illustrates the kinds of words that are borrowed into German and are subject to the processes discussed. This list includes names from popular books and television shows (Old Shatterhand, Old Surehand) which are peculiar to Germany since they are names created by a German writer.

O.K.?

Das hast du verstanden. Oder?

Natürlich hast du.

So viel Englisch kann heute jeder.

Hier ist eine Liste. Zähl nach, wie vielen Wörtern du schon einmal begegnet bist! Dann sprich sie mal aus! Merkst du was?

Hör dir die Wörter mal vom Tonband an!

Sprich die Wörter englisch aus! Schaffst du das?

baby
baby sitter
bar
Beatles
beefsteak
blue jeans
boss
box
boy
butler
camping
catcher
catchup
center
chewing gum
city
clever
clown
colt
computer
corned beef
cornflakes
country music
cowboy
world cup
disc jockey
discount
do-it-yourself
drink

fair
fair play
fan
farm
farmer
FBI
festival
fifty-fifty
First Lady
foul
gag
gangster
gentleman
girl
go-kart
golf
grapefruit
greenhorn
hair spray
hit
hit parade
hobby
interview
jazz
jeep
job
killer
lady

lift
lift boy
lord
made in Germany
make-up
manager
match
matchbox car
Miss
Mister
mixer
mixed pickles
milk shake
motel
music box
no
non-iron
non-stop
O. K.
Old Shatterhand
Old Surehand
party
pipeline
playboy
player
pony
pop
pop song
popcorn

pure wool
quiz
ranch
rancher
roast beef
sandwich
Scotland Yard
service
sheriff
shop
shopping center
shorts
show
soft ice
team
teenager
test
song
star
steak
stewardess
story
supermarket
swimming pool
toast
toaster
T-shirt
western
whisky

Source: H.E. Piepho et al. Contacts 5. Bochum,W. Germany: Ferdinand Kamp. 191979.

The pronunciation model for English is officially oriented toward a British model, and is most frequently RP (Received Pronunciation).[2] It seems however that the attitude of the younger generation is the source of change in pronunciation, with American or mixed forms becoming more prevalent among the general population as well as the younger people, especially in those areas of greatest contact with American speakers (Wächtler 1974).

Up to this point we have looked at what is a relatively short history of German contact with English and the attitudes that have been active in the development of this history. Now we turn to the uses and the users of English in Germany.

Part III: English in Germany: The Users and Uses

There are two determinants of the degree of nativization in a particular context (Kachru 1982). One determinant is the period of time a society has been exposed to bilingualism in English. Germany's 40 year history of intensive contact when compared to that of English in India or Africa is a relatively short one, but, as has been illustrated above, it has been sufficient to bring changes into the language. The second determinant has two parts: the range and depth of the functions a language serves in the new cultural context. Range refers to the extension of English into various cultural, social, educational and commercial contexts. Depth is the penetration of proficiency in English at various social levels.

In Germany, English has a range of functions which fall under the category of two broader functions, the interpersonal and the instrumental.[3]

The instrumental function is usually related to the status of English in the educational system and is represented by written rather than spoken language. Although the German educational system does require the teaching of foreign languages, German remains the medium of instruction in all schools (except for a small number of international schools). One exception is the use of English in university English departments for seminars and lectures, but this is only the case if the faculty feels comfortable using English. This is not always so because professors use English primarily as a research tool in the reading of texts in literature or linguistics and are not fluent in spoken English.

Nevertheless, through journals there is an active written exchange in English among members of the international community of scholars. Even journals based in Germany, e.g., the International Review of Applied Linguistics and English World Wide, publish either predominantly or exclusively in English in order to make research findings more widely accessible. One physics journal increased its proportion of articles in English from 2% to 50% over six years in part due to the increased acceptance of manuscripts submitted by native English speakers and also in part due to the recognition of the need of the German physicist to make research readily known to colleagues outside of German-speaking countries.

In the opinion of the director of the Duden dictionary editorial office, the increasing publication of research results in English or the presentation of them outside of Europe first is "a tragedy" for the scientific register of German (Süddeutsche Zeitung February 3, 1983). At the frontiers of knowledge the exclusive use of English means there are no generally recognized and unambiguous technical terms available in German.

A further consequence of conducting scientific debates in English is a growing embarrassment among some scholars if they are called upon to use their native language in their area of specialization (Denison 1981). One might ask if this is not also the case in the fields of technology and business where the English names for new products and concepts are also used in place of any German equivalent.

The use of English in these contexts exemplifies the instrumental function as it has developed in Germany. The interpersonal function is performed in two senses. One of these is as a code symbolizing modernization and elitism. The use of English by public figues like Chancellor Kohl and by the media as discussed above are examples of this sense. The other sense is the use of English as a link language between speakers of various languages and dialects in a pluralistic context.

International meetings in Europe are one particular setting for this use of the interpersonal function. Instances of nativization of English as a European variety have been observed at such conferences, e.g., continental uses of tenses and meanings of eventual and actual, 'possible' and 'topical', respectively. What is interesting about this phenomenon is that native speakers attending these conferences may find themselves using features of the nativized variety as a communicative strategy when talking with the non-native users (Ferguson 1982).

English as the language of good jobs is a further example of the interpersonal function. This serves as one of the primary motivations for learning English among many adults, especially those at the technical level in technology (television, airplane and airport, computer), in the business office and at some levels of industry.

The classifieds page of a German newspaper like the weekly Die Zeit, which has national distribution, illustrates the market value of knowledge of English . Advertisers in both the positions sought and the positions offered sections stress this skill. Within a three month period of Die Zeit those seeking positions included a journalist with "perfect" knowledge of English, a mechanical engineer with several years experience of technical English, and a social worker with "good" knowledge of English.

Among the positions offerred was a sales position for an engineer with a "good" knowledge of English and a willingness to travel throughout Europe and another position in a pharmaceutical firm for a products manager with a mastery of the English language.

Exactly what is meant by mastery of English, or "good" or "perfect" knowledge of English is not made explicit, but it is apparent that high salaries and prestige positions are related to a reasonable level of competence in English. Yet, there are less prestigious positions for which English can also be essential, such as that of waiter, secretary, or volunteer in Africa with the German Volunteer Service (German equivalent of the Peace Corps). Those working in tourism also find English helpful in serving the 9 million people from all over the world who visit Germany each year and bring in millions of marks in revenue. In this context, the need and uses for English are based on economic reality.

The ability to use English is not restricted, then, to any one level of society, although the use at one level may depend upon the area of use, e.g., tourism, sales. The depth of proficiency presented by such a cross- section can best be represented by a cline of proficiency (Kachru 1965). This cline may range from the perfectly competent speaker

of English at one end of the continuum to the German with a "home-grown" restricted competence consisting of a set of frequently recurring lexical items. This distinction can be misleading if it is thought of entirely as the placement of individual speakers at one point on the cline. It is also possible that one speaker can be placed at different points, depending upon the range of functions English serves for that person. For example, a physicist may be able to write research reports in English, but cannot hold up one end of a conversation on a non-technical subject.

A discussion of the depth of proficiency in a language across social levels leads to the question of the sources of this proficiency in English. One such source is the German education system, where English is an obligatory subject.

Part IV: The Teaching of English in Germany

English is the first foreign language in nearly all German schools, except those bordering on France, and is taught for six years beginning with grade five. The use and further learning of English after grade ten depends upon the learners' jobs and professions and their plans for further education. Some may go on to technical schools, where English is being offered more frequently than in the past when advanced study in a language was reserved for students at the college preparatory schools (Gymnasien).

In the Gymnasien it was seen as a cultural object and taught like any other academic subject which meant that learning about the language and literature of Great Britain and the United States was emphasized more than how to use the language. In the technical schools however English is

taught as a skill in order to meet the demands of modern technology and the market place. Here the emphasis is on technical writing and the comprehension of assembly and repair manuals.

In Germany those qualified to teach English are prepared at teacher training colleges or at those universities which also do teacher training, as in the state of Hesse. In the academic year 1980-81, 28,786 of the 1,031,590 students enrolled at the tertiary level majored in British/American Studies. In contrast, only 15,916 were enrolled in Romance Languages Departments for the same year. In 1980 a little over a thousand English majors graduated with a teaching qualification for English and were ready to go into the schools.[4]

The English these graduates are expected to teach is officially based on external norms, namely that of British English, especially in terms of pronunciation. Ironically in some cases adherence to British norms produces behavior that is inappropriate. For example, it is somewhat incongruous for a 12-year-old German child living in the heart of Germany's steel manufacturing area to speak a variety of English that is spoken by a very small percentage of the population in Britain to begin with. Yet, this does conform to the acceptability standards as determined by the teachers, who themselves may be able to only approximate the norms and consequently teach their own variety of English. As a result of this, what began as adherence to an external British standard has developed into an internal German English standard as unofficially established by German teachers of English.

This particular point raises the issue of which norm is appropriate for which uses of English in Germany. This point, however, cannot be dis-

cussed without looking at the attitudes that prevail toward the nativization of English and the educational issue of communicative competence, two concepts which are closely related in Germany.

Part V: Communicative Competence and Attitudes Toward German English

The increasing demand for English as a skill in technical and commercial areas has changed what is taught in school English classes to some extent. Yet, the potential viability of local standards has not been seriously considered.

Insight into this situation may be gained by looking at currently prevailing attitudes toward the nativization of English. We have already met the view that the lack of terms in German in some registers is a "tragedy". This reminds one of the efforts in France to stem the flood of English technical words into the French vocabulary by substituting newly created French words for the intruding English items, e.g., le logiciel for software and le materiel for hardware.

Some Germans have also expressed concern about the security of the German language, not only in light of the influence of English upon it, but also in relation to the overall pedagogical theory of communicative competence. Some feel it is jeopardizing standard German because it implies increased tolerance of linguistic diversity in the first language classroom (Adam 1981). Communicative competence promotes the expression and development of opinions and the formulation of questions through the forms of the language that the children know best. This language could be any of a number of regional dialects which are not always mutually intelligible among Germans.

In the foreign language classroom communicative competence has been interpreted to mean tolerance of and familiarity with a range of native and non-native English varieties. To this end, the modern language curriculum guidelines established by the Ministry of Education of one German state makes the recommendation that students work with listening texts representing "accent variations" as well as expressions associated with certain regions and groups (Der Hessische Kultusminister 1980).

Communicative competence is generally viewed as the ability to express and interpret the communicative intention of a text, written or spoken. For example, in speaking, this would mean control of language forms and sounds at least to the degree that they neither interfere with communication nor are unintelligible to a native speaker. This lack of insistence upon absolute correctness is troublesome to many and has resulted in the refutation of the concept of communicative competence as a viable objective in the schools. This is not surprising since it seems to open the way for recognition of a nativiized variety of English and even encourages its use and development.

Conclusion

Little attention has been paid to the use of English in Germany and there is at present little literature on the subject. This leaves a host of questions to be answered, only a few of which have been addressed here and somewhat impressionistically dealt with. There is urgent need for more research if answers are to be forthcoming - particularly in the area of use and attitudes.

Socially realistic research would be especially relevant for the teaching of English in Europe in the following areas of concern: (a) the suitability of a single model of language, (b) whether the priorities of a modern language program should be EFL or ESL (and whether such a dichotomy is even useful), (c) the issue of mutual intelligibility for non-native varieties, (d) the role of professional teaching organizations, e.g., TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), among others.

These questions are not only relevant to the European context; just as the functions of English in Germany and the processes of nativization are like those in other nativizing contexts, Europe and the countries within it share the edcational and economic concerns of Asia and Africa.

Yet, in our search for solutions, solutions which may apply to all of these contexts to some degree, we cannot lose sight of the uniqueness of each cultural and linguistic context where English has been and is being nativized. Ultimately, sensitivity to the differences as well as the similarities in the teaching of English and the training of teachers can contribute to more efficient and effective learning and promote the development of a communicative competence which is appropriate to the native context, whether it be Asia, African, or European.

Notes

1. "Europe" is referred to here in its geographical, not political sense, and includes Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finnland, France, Germany(West), Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal,Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

2. Traditionally, one reason for the preference of British pronunciation has been the prejudice against the American variant as sloppy and careless. To some ears, the broad vowels typically associated with American English are considered vulgar.

3. These terms are being used in the sense of Kachru (1982). Unlike institutionalized contexts where the regulative and imaginative functions are well-developed, the German context has more pronounced performance in these two functions alone. See also Bernstein (1964).

4. These statistics are taken from the 1982 edition of the Statistisches Jahrbuch, Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden, W. Germany.

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